NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CALIFORNIA,

By JAIME DE ANGULO AND L. S. FREELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

In the summer of 1926 I had occasion to stay for a few days[1] at Fort Bidwell, in the extreme northeastern corner of California, where a number of Indians, mostly "Paiutes" as they are called in those parts, are congregated around the Government Agency. The Agent, Mr. O. C. Gray who knows personally almost every individual of the tribes located in that part of the country and who is trusted by them, extended to me all possible courtesy and help, and through his efforts I was able to get in touch with some excellent informants who gave me what they could of their time after working hours and this without remuneration. During the day their wives when they were not cooking or otherwise engaged around the camp also helped me.

These men were Perry Parker and Bige Archie. Then too I met George Townsend, a very old man living in his shack at the "Indian Camp" on the outskirts of town. He claims 1840 as his birth-date. At any rate he was old enough to act as scout to General Crook. If it had been possible for me to remain there longer I could have obtained a great deal of very valuable information from this genial old fellow. As it was I had to limit my inquiries to certain questions of culture that interested me from the point of view of diffusion, especially in regard to the culture of the Californian Northeast, and more especially still in regard to the diffusion of culture traits from the Plains area into California. It seems to me more and more clear that Kroeber is quite right in claiming all the Interior Basin area for California[2], to form a culture province apart, with a

1. I should add however that in the last few year I have often come in contact with Paiutes living among the Pit River Indians.

2. For the latest expression of Dr. Kroeber's point of view see the recently published *Handbook of Indians of California*, Bureau of Amer. Ethn., Bul. 78, especially pp. 915, 916.

[p. 313]

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
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typical focus of specialization in North-Central California. The rest of California would thus represent the under lying primitive layer *plus* the influences from this and from other outlying cultural foci insofar as they have penetrated any one geographical point. This is however not the place to develope this theory. Suffice it to allude to it in order to explain why in the short time at my disposal I limited myself to certain definite points which otherwise might seem to have been given undue importance. They are details that are significant for the delimitation of the spheres of cultural spread in this particular region.

In regard to the language I could obtain only a general impression of the morphology, and a fairly sufficient semasiology, sufficient that is for purposes of comparison. Altogether, the material here presented is scanty both as regards ethnology and language. It may prove of value however, since so little has been published on this people[1].

I will point out in this paper the differences or similitaries between the culture of the Paiutes and that of the Pit Rivers, with vhom I am well acquainted. I would have liked to do the same in regard to the Klamath-Modocs. I have however but a very insecure knowledge of this people, and inasmuch as Dr. Leslie Spier is at present engaged on a thorough study of that tribe which he intends to publish in the near future there would be no excuse for inaccurate or dubious statements in this case. I am glad to be able to say however that in private conversations Dr. Spier has given me the support of his opinion.

ETHNOLOGY.

ETHNO-GEOGRAPHY.

The people here dealt with occupy the basin lying immediately to the east of the Warner Range and known as Surprise Valley.

This range acts as a definite and well marked barrier between them and the Pit River Indians. To the north and to the south the range gra-

1. For the ethnology of these people, see Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. 1924, which contains a complete bibliography to date. On the linguistic side there is practically nothing to cite (for a study of morphological features), except four studies by A. L. Kroeber:

The Shoshonean Dialects of California, University of California Publications, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1907.

Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, *Ibid.* Vol. 8, No. 5, 1909.

Notes on the Ute Language, American Anthropologist, Vol. 10. No. 1. 1908.

The Bannock and Shoshoni Languages, *Ibid.* Vol. 11, No. 2, 1909.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941
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CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

121 This study is intended to show the presence or absence of certain elements of culture in representative bands of the Northern Paiute.[1,2] Information from two neighboring peoples, the Achomawi 101 and the Washo, is also included for the purpose 131 of comparison. The Northern Paiute of Owens Valley are not included because of Steward's studies of them.[3] Although some of the groups included here—notably the Hunipui, Walpapi, Wada, Yahuskin, Koa'agai, and Tagö—have been called Snake and Bannock and have had a "Plains type" of culture attributed to them, conclusive evidence is now on record to show that these bands are typically Northern Paiute.[4]

133 The habitat of the Northern Paiute is uniformly desert, being modified somewhat by streams carrying water into the area from the Sierra Nevada, Cascade, Teton, and Blue mountains. Their territory is shaped roughly like an isosceles triangle with its point at Owens Lake, California, and its 275-mile base at Blue Mountains in Oregon, about 600 miles to the north. With the exception of part of the arid plateau in the north, all the area lies within the Basin-Range physiographic province; in fact, the western edge of the Great Basin is approximately coterminous with the Northern Paiute western boundary. Even closer 137 is the coincidence of the western or northern tribal boundary and the edges of the desert sagebrush vegetation zone. The valley flora is dominated by sagebrush, shadscale, and greasewood. The ranges are generally placed in the "Piñon-Juniper Zone,"[5] but the piñon, found sporadically 136 on the Nevada ranges, is absent from Idaho and Oregon. Antelope, deer, and mountain sheep are fairly common throughout the area, although jack rabbit, ground squirrel, and other small game were certainly the chief source of meat. Contrary

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[1]The typewriting and drafting for this manuscript in preparation for publication was done by personnel of Works Progress Administration, Official Project 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

[104 1941] [2]Phonetic key.—ö, "mute" e as in French je, le; ü, pronounced much as the u in German kühl or French lune; u, as in German gut; e, as in French été; i, as in French fini; a, as in English far; ġ, a velar sonant g accompanied by a uvular vibration; r, pronounced as French uvular r; ', glottal stop; v, bilabial V, as in Spanish; ą, nasal as in French. Other letters pronounced as in English.

[3]Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XII—Nevada Shoshoni. AR 4: 209-359, 1941.

[4]Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands. AR 2: 127-149, 1939.

[5]Shantz, 21, and map. [P. 361 (A)]

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
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PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire northwestern part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer, antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came together in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies, the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanistic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within an easy journey to the sick man's house.

Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING

Part 3, Conclusions

Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin
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4. Conclusions. In the introductory section of this study the specific results of ethnohistorical research on two so-called aboriginal Northern Paiute "bands" were briefly summarized. We do not propose, in the final section, to enlarge on these specific findings, but instead wish to discuss some of the broader implications that a detailed ethnohistorical study such as this one holds.

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The majority of ethnological reports on North American Indian cultures that were written by American-trained ethnologists during the period 1910-1940 were couched in the "ethnographic present" (tense), and purported to describe the "aboriginal" cultures of various Indian groups. Yet few if any of the ethnologists who authored these reports had gone into the field to study a tribe, equipped with any except the most rudimentary knowledge of that tribe's early post-White contact background. Lacking command of this ethnohistorical data, it is small wonder that the monographs which these ethnologists produced, although written in the ethnographic present, are curiously divorced from reality.

By 1945 the possibility of doing "memory ethnographies" of so-called aboriginal North American Indian cultures was generally recognized as a thing of the past. Even ethnographers concerned with western North American Indian tribes perforcedly had to admit this. Interest among North American ethnologists then began to shift to Central and South American "primitive (?) peoples,"

114 121 and to those of even remoter regions of the globe. It is true Worl War II had something to do with this; but looking back, not too much. Had North American Indian ethnology, in the decade 1945-1955, been more firmly established methodologically, it would not have lost so many workers to other parts of the world as it has.

The weakness of a basic assumption made by American ethnologists in the 1910's, '20's, and '30's—namely, that through field work with elderly informants they could secure reasonably complete descriptions of aboriginal North American Indian cultures—has turned out, under testing, to have been a false assumption. The published results of this field work of the period 1910-1940 are inadequate and unsatisfactory for answering basic questions about North American Indian groups and their aboriginal cultures, such as arise in Indian Land Claims cases, for example. The results are unsatisfactory chiefly because of a fairly appalling lack, on the part of field workers, of any knowledge of the ethnohistorical background of the peoples whose cultures were being studied. Ignoring history, the ethnologists set themselves too ambitious a task; and as a result, presented all-too-unrealistic, overly formalized, and often misleading or partly erroneous descriptions of so-called "aboriginal" North American Indian cultures. Taking, whenever it was possible to do so, first immediate White contact as a starting point, the ethnologist relied on what he was told by elderly or knowledgable informants concerning the culture of their group at or around the immediate contact period, and presented this data as a valid picture of an "aboriginal culture." Reliable informants' statements were generally regarded as gospel, and little use was made by the field worker of published documentary material, to say nothing of archival or otherwise unpublished data. In two graduate Anthropology Departments that we know of, investigation of documentary material was explicitly discouraged, in the '30's. White influences emanating from outside an area under field survey, or even what was going on in non-Indian affairs within the area of those peoples whose culture was being studied, was not important for the ethnological field worker. Yet such factors

114 121 177

had often had important repercussions upon the culture of the peoples under consideration. Before the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon had any real and immediate contacts with the Whites, for example, the need of retired Hudson's Bay employees and other early Willamette Valley settlers for Indian slaves to work their farms, and the need of miners in southern Idaho and northeastern Oregon for supplies, probably had had a good deal of effect upon the choice of habitat, and some of the manners and customs of the Oregon Paiutes. How else is one to explain, for instance, the presence of roving, peaceably inclined Northern Paiutes in the Willamette Valley at the opening of the 19th century, and their absence in this region before the middle of the same century, or how is one to account for an early 19th-century, sparsely distributed, unmounted, hunting-gathering population being organized in relatively large, mounted predatory bands, by the late 1850's and the 1860's?

To continue with the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon as our example. Elderly Northern Paiute informants undoubtedly gave, in all honesty and with as much accuracy as memory allowed, to those ethnographers working with them in the 1930's and '40's, what the informants knew about native life as it was lived when they were boys and girls, or young men and women. Whatever else informants gave, on the authority of deceased relatives, was tradition. And as we know, oral tradition can be a combination of accuracies and inaccuracies, interlarded with a good deal of reasoning after the fact. All this information, or "field data," was then used as the basis for several monographs purporting to describe the aboriginal way of life of various groups of Oregon-Northeastern California Paiutes.

Unfortunately, the monographs referred to do not describe, in our judgment, the aboriginal culture of these groups. By 1860-1870 many of the Oregon Paiute had had horses for five to fifteen years, at least. They had also had heavily loaded, poorly guarded supply trains and emigrant trains, and droves of cattle, horses, and mules

114 passing over well defined trails and roads in their general area,
177 for about the same length of time or longer. They had had volun-
[648] teer forces and United States Army forces pursuing them, burning their winter stores and killing or taking as many of them captive as possible, during this period. These were only some of the direct influences operating on their mode of living and political organization at this time. There were also indirect, far-reaching influences that had been operative from a much earlier date; the emigration of several thousand settlers to the Willamette Valley, beginning in 1843, was one such.

In the light of the above, we have certain suggestions to make. 114
First, that ethnologists discard the notion that any ethnography of 121
a North American Indian group describes that group's "aboriginal culture." (We have grave doubts that such an ethnography could ever have been written, except, possibly, in 1492—if one had been quick about it.) Secondly, we suggest recognition of the fact that North American Indian ethnographies be taken as relating in general to a period coincident with the early years of the informants who supplied the data upon which such ethnographies are based. Taking Kelly's Surprise Valley Paiute monograph as an example, we note that the field work which this study is based on was done in 1930, and that the several Surprise Valley Paiute informants used were, at that time, about 60-70 years old. This dates Kelly's material as relating to the period 1860-1870. We have indicated in parts 2.2 and 3.2 of this paper (pp. 103, 110, 251, 253, 254, fns. 49,
[621] 110, 213, 234) something of the condition of the Surprise Valley Paiute during this decade. They were organized, possibly, as a predatory band in the early 1860's; by the early 1870's they were on the Klamath Reservation at Yainax, but the locale they preferr was near Camp Warner, an Army post some distance east of the Reservation. What Kelly has to say about the social and political organization of the Surprise Valley Paiute fits the 1860-1870 pictur of this group, but is full of unresolved uncertainties as regards th Northern Paiute of the Surprise Valley region in aboriginal times

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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However, the goodly stock of North American Indian ethnographies that we have, once their contents are properly dated, would no longer be misleading or confusing documents, but on the contrary would represent valuable source material. Used in conjunction with relevant ethnohistorical material, they could provide a basis for studies of culture change, cultural stability, cultural resistances, and other enquiries into cultural dynamics. To neglect them because they do not fulfill everything that was claimed for them when they were written is to fail to recognize the close relationship that exists between the results of ethnohistorical and ethnological research, as this relates to larger problems in cultural anthropology.

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6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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Notes

121 648 1. This paper is based on ethnohistorical research done for the Lands Division, United States Department of Justice, in connection with three aboriginal occupancy cases before the Indian Claims Commission: Docket No. 87, The Piute Nation vs. the United States; Docket No. 17, Indians of the Former Malheur Reservation vs. the United States; Docket No. 100, The Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and the Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians vs. the United States. I wish to thank Julian H. Steward, who appeared before the Commission as the main witness for the Government in hearings on Dockets 87 and 17, and Leland L. Yost, attorney, Lands Division, for basic questions both raised concerning the nature and history of the Northern Paiute "bands" of central Oregon, and for the unlimited help Mr. Yost rendered in locating archival material. To David Cobb of the firm of Cobb and Weisbrodt, attorneys for the plaintiffs in Docket No. 87, I am indebted for an indefinite loan of a set of plaintiff's exhibits, consisting chiefly of copies of letters and reports in the National Archives.

113 The following abbreviations are used:

BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology — Bulletin
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
CDS	Congressional Documents Series
DC	Department of the Columbia
DP	Department of the Pacific
FP	Field Papers
NA	National Archives
OS	Oregon Superintendency
OSFP	Oregon Superintendency Field Papers
RCIA	Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
RSW	Report of the Secretary of War
Stats. L.	United States Statutes at Large
WDC	War Department Commands
WR	War of the Rebellion, Ser. 1, Vol. 50.

128 All remarks within parentheses in quoted material are part of the quotation; all bracketed material is ours unless otherwise indicated.

101 648 2. Snakes (and variants thereof — Digger Snakes, Paiute Snakes, Snake Root Diggers, Upper and Lower Snakes, and so forth) was the early 19th-century name used by explorers, Indian Bureau and Army personnel, and early settlers for the Northern Paiute-speaking peoples in central and eastern Oregon. The Indians themselves never recognised or acknowledged Snake as a name, but did refer to themselves in English as Paiutes. Gradually the latter name came to be used by the Whites; at first more commonly for those Indians of south-central

INTRODUCTION

THIS monograph was written with three purposes in mind: first, to present a descriptive analysis of the way in which social control operates among the Harney Valley Paiutes; second, on the basis of this intensive analysis, to formulate hypotheses concerning correlations between certain conditions and types of social control; and third, to test these hypotheses cross-culturally. 121

The concept of social control, as used in this paper, includes all mechanisms which regulate the interpersonal relationships of individuals within the Paiute families and bands. Most anthropologists assume that behavior between individuals is defined by custom; that each society dictates the behavior which is acceptable and that which is unacceptable; that customs are transmitted from generation to generation and are relatively stable. Anthropologists, however, have given less consideration to the problems of why people obey custom, how they learn the customs, and what happens to those individuals who fail to comply with the social regulations, than they have to the description of the customs themselves. It is these problems of obedience, learning, and punishment which in this paper are grouped under the concept of social control.

In considering the problem of social control I have assumed that: (1) In any society individuals must co-operate in order to survive. They must live peacefully with other persons. (2) An individual cannot act according to the dictates of his basic drives alone and live in peaceful relations with other persons. His desires may conflict with the desires of other individuals and therefore necessitate a compromise. (3) He must learn to co-operate and, since he must give up certain satisfactions which conflict with the interests of other members of the society, he must be forced to learn;[1] further, there must be continuous pressure which forces him to maintain these learned habits. (4) In any reasonably stable society there is a tendency for customs to be set up in such a way that a minimum of conflict exists between the drives of individuals and the needs of the group. (5) In any society, individual asocial wishes will break through custom, will cause friction, and will have to be punished.

[1] These three assumptions are embodied in William Graham Sumner's theory of antagonistic co-operation as stated in *Folkways* (New York, 1906), pp. 16-17. Malinowski has also pointed out that an individual, civilized or savage, does not submit to custom automatically. It is "contrary to human nature to accept any constraint to human nature as a matter of course"—and—man does not "ever carry out unpleasant, burdensome, cruel regulations and taboos without being compelled to." Cf. B. Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (London, 1932), p. 10.

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Until recently American anthropologists have thought of customs as habits which are learned by imitation or some other mechanism and which then continue to be performed without any external pressure. These theories assume that habits are autonomous and that imitation is automatic. The first of these assumptions has been invalidated by the followers of Pavlov, the stimulus-response psychologists. Furthermore, imitation has been shown by Miller and Dollard to be a learned response.[2] It is the basic assumption of these psychologists that all habits must be learned and subsequently maintained by rewards and punishments. Furthermore, they have found that the more a habit conflicts with the basic drives of an individual, the more difficult it is to teach and maintain. If one accepts these findings and the five basic assumptions presented above, it is obvious that in any society there must be mechanisms of social control to teach and maintain customs which, although they may conflict with an individual's drives, are essential to the welfare of the group.

Sumner recognized this problem in his concept of the mores. He saw customs as growing out of the needs of the group. Some of these customs were pleasurable to the individuals; others, though painful, were found to be necessary for the welfare of the group. These customs he called *mores* as contrasted with *folkways*.[3] He recognized that all custom had to be sanctioned but that the degree of sanction varied with the importance of the interest.[4]

Within societies there are usually sub-groups. The more closely knit and interdependent these groups are, the more essential that peaceful relations between the members be maintained. It is my hypothesis that in such a group customs essential to the avoidance of strife will be taught early in childhood and that control of asocial behavior will be more strongly internalized than in a larger and less closely integrated group. The threat of loss of support and help from the group will be a constant deterrent to behavior which is contrary to custom. There will be less need for direct punishment or specialized agencies of social control.

A similar contrast may be made between the type of social control found in different societies. The more interdependent the individuals of a society and the greater the need for cooperation, the more internalized will be the forces of social control. The size of the group and the economic relations between the members will also be essential determinants in the type of control which will be most efficient. The larger and more complex the interrelationship between individuals, the greater will be the need for formalized social control.[5]

[2] N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).
[3] W. G. Sumner, *Folkways* (New York, 1906), p. 3.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[5] Linton makes a point similar to this in his discussion of the local group. "Moreover, the extremely close relations existing between all the band's members make it possible to deal with offenders effectively yet at the same time informally." Cf. Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p. 222.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
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Cross-cultural analysis indicates that there are six main types of mechanisms of social control.[6] Some are found in all societies and some are found only where the social, economic, and political organization is complex. 12/

One of the most basic and universal mechanisms of social control is the superego or conscience. As Freud has pointed out, this internalized mechanism which controls the individual is developed in early childhood as a result of parental discipline and example, and the identification of the child with the parents. However, even this deeply internalized mechanism must be constantly backed up by other social control agencies, particularly as the individual grows up and is less dependent on his parents.

Another type of social control mechanism which functions in all societies is public opinion. Linton[7] and Lips[8] speak of the fear of ridicule as a strong deterrent to asocial behavior. In my analysis, however, this fear of ridicule is successful only if it implies a threat of loss of help or the threat of ostracism or mob action.[9] Public disapproval as a mechanism of social control varies in effectiveness with the strength of the threat implied. However, if the fear of disapproval is strongly internalized, it may be effective in controlling behavior even if the punishment implied in the threat is never executed. In a similar way public approval is an incentive to social behavior; its strength as a motivator varies with the type of reward implied.

Reciprocity is a third important type of social control and one which has been elucidated by Malinowski and his students.[10] These anthropologists conceive social relations to be composed of a series of give-and-take obligations. Each partner in these reciprocal agreements guards his rights and threatens to break the relationship if the bargain is not fulfilled.[11] An individual's work is rewarded by the repayment he receives from his reciprocating partner. Inasmuch as the fulfillment of both sides of the bargain is essential to the well-being of the individuals, positive and negative sanctions are constantly functioning.

The fourth type of sanction, and one which is found in varying degree in every society, is the religious or supernatural sanction. Sumner has called this type

[6] The most complete analysis of social control is that presented in the *Outline of Cultural Materials*, prepared by the Cross-Cultural Survey, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, New Haven, 1938, category 42.

[7] Ralph Linton, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

[8] Julius Lips, "Government," *General Anthropology*, edited by Franz Boas (New York, 1938), p. 496.

[9] Lips says that "the individual cannot escape unfavorable public opinion, for he cannot leave the local group and join another community." *Ibid.*

[10] B. Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (London, 1932). H. I. Hogbin, *Law and Order in Polynesia* (London, 1934). P. M. Kaberry, "Law and Political Organization of the Abelam Tribe, Sepik District, New Guinea" (*Oceania*, vol. XII, no. 1).

[11] The concept of breaking relationship is an elaboration of the theory of reciprocity developed by Whiting. See J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven, 1941), pp. 97-98.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
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121 of pressure toward social conformity "ghost fear."[12] Whiting, in an analysis of supernatural beliefs among the Kwoma, has discussed the problem of the inculcation of these fears and the way in which they function in social control. He has shown that the teaching of these beliefs takes place in early childhood primarily through the mechanism of warning and that the feared supernatural agents resemble realistic agents, and therefore a child's fear of real dangers generalizes to the unreal dangers postulated by the culture. He also points out that these supernatural fears, although they are taught early in life, must be maintained by other sanctions, and that both direct and chance punishments serve this purpose.[13] The analysis of supernatural sanctions in Paiute society indicates that most of the customs which are controlled in this way are taught early in life and that the fear of punishment is internalized and becomes part of the conscience. It also confirms Whiting's hypothesis that other types of sanction are applied to maintain the supernatural sanctions. The analysis of Paiute society also suggests that this type of social control works best where there are small numbers of people living together and where the social and economic organization is simple.

The fifth type of sanction is retaliation. The basic idea of an eye for an eye seems to be present in some form in every culture. Individual or kin retaliation are the simplest forms. If a man is murdered, it is the duty of one of his relatives to see that the murderer or one of the murderer's relatives is killed in revenge. Retaliation, however, must be controlled. Were there no way of stopping feuds the situation would be similar to the legend of the Martins and the Coys, who continued revenge killings until only two representatives of the clans were left. This aspect has been overlooked by many ethnologists in their descriptions of social control.

The substitution of payment in goods or currency for blood revenge is one of the most usual checks on retaliation. However, to insure the acceptance of such settlements other types of social control forces must operate. There must be some pressure which forces the wronged party to accept the payment as full recompense.

Retaliation may also be indirect or symbolic. In societies where there is a belief that an individual may kill or bring illness to somebody by using supernatural power, retaliation may be in the form of sorcery. In this case it is the fear of supernatural powers rather than direct revenge which keeps an individual from committing an offense. However, as in the case of other supernatural sanctions, there must be a real threat implied or the fear will be extinguished.[14]

The sixth type of sanction includes the institutionalized types of social control. These include all agencies to whom authority is delegated to make laws, settle disputes, and execute punishments.

[12] W. G. Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
[13] J. W. M. Whiting, *op. cit.*, Chapter VIII.
[14] For definition of principle of extinction see N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-42.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
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Of these six types of social control all but the last may be said to have functioned among the Paiute. Within the family the conscience, developed by direct punishment, identification and the fear of loss of support and help, was the strongest force for social control. The fear of being accused of sorcery and punished accordingly maintained the strength of the conscience. Within the band, the most important mechanisms of social control were retaliation and the fear of sorcery and accusations of sorcery. In analysis, these fears represent a combination of public opinion and supernatural sanction with an implied threat of retaliation and mob action. The concept of reciprocity was found to be basic to all the types of social control in so far as the need for support and help from others motivated individuals to maintain peaceful relations with their neighbors.

The literature on social control in primitive societies is not extensive. Ethnographers are apt merely to describe the political organization of a tribe. The political organization, however, may or may not include agencies for social control. The function of the governmental bodies may be executive, advisory, administrative, fiscal, military, or religious as well as legislative and judicial. The danger of this confusion of social control and political organization may be seen particularly in societies such as those found in the Great Basin, which have no formalized government, lacking even chiefs and rudimentary councils.

Failure to recognize the functioning of social control in primitive communities is also due in part to the fact that anthropologists have looked for legal systems similar to those found in Western civilization. Finding neither legal codes nor court systems, they have assumed that there is no social control at all. It is stated that the members of the community are so bound by tradition and custom that laws are not necessary. Malinowski has pointed out the fallacies of these assumptions,[15] and in his studies has defined primitive law as any rule which is sanctioned by a duly constituted authority. From this point of view, law exists in all societies whether or not they have a legal system similar to that found in our own society.

Social control in the broadest sense is any pressure exerted upon an individual which makes him behave in relation to other individuals in a socially approved way. In this paper, however, it is used particularly to cover the control of any offense which causes friction in the community. Consequently, simple breaches of manners or etiquette are ignored, unless such breaches carry further and more serious connotations. If, for example, failure to speak politely to people is interpreted as an indication of sorcery power, the custom is considered as being more than etiquette. In this work I have stressed the conformity to customs which are considered essential to the welfare of the group. The method of teaching and maintaining economic techniques and minor rules and regulations has not been considered.

The most common sources of friction in primitive tribes stem from aggression and from competition in attempting to satisfy basic needs. Offenses against

[15] B. Malinowski, *op. cit.*

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life and person and some offenses against property fall in the first category, whereas sexual offenses and some types of property offenses, such as theft of food, fall in the second category. Indolence and non-fulfillment of obligations are two other important causes of friction.[16]

The field work on which this dissertation is based was done during the summers of 1936, '37, and '38, among the Harney Valley Paiute in Burns, Oregon. During the first year the purpose was to acquire historical material, and most of the time in the field was spent with old informants who were questioned primarily on material culture and folklore. The second summer was devoted to an analysis of the social organization, which had been described in the literature as "amorphous" and "unformalized." I felt that although the organization was seemingly without form there must be definite rules which regulated the composition of groups and the interpersonal relationships of the members of the band. On the subject of social organization and also on the subject of religion I found that I could use younger informants and that in these fields much of the old culture survived in spite of the drastic changes which had occurred in the life of the people, particularly in their economic life. The material on social organization checked closely with the findings reported by Julian H. Steward in his monograph on *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, published in 1938.[17] During the last weeks of this second stay among the Paiutes I began to get more detailed material on religion and the concept of good and bad power.

The third summer my husband, John Whiting, accompanied me to the field. He had just returned from New Guinea, where he had been particularly interested in the problem of social control. Influenced by him, I devoted most of this summer to the subjects of social control and sorcery. I spent less time using the question and answer technique and more time recording gossip and observing the interrelationship of the members of the community. I devoted considerable time to gathering what Hoebel and Llewelyn have called "trouble cases."[18] For example, besides questioning informants about murder and recording their theoretical statements I asked them to describe actual murders and the circumstances preceding and following the incidents. I gathered as many of these cases as possible.

In analyzing the material on social control I used a modification of the system used by C. S. Ford in his analysis of "rules" presented in an article on "Society, Culture, and the Human Organism."[19] All cases of conflict were recorded in terms of the type of sanction, the customs sanctioned, and the sanctioning agent. This analysis indicated the importance of supernatural sanctions, particularly the strength of the fear of sorcery as an agent of social control. This fear was found to be

[16] *Outline of Cultural Materials*, Cross-Cultural Survey, New Haven, 1938, categories 423, 426.
[17] See Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120.
[18] E. A. Hoebel and K. N. Llewelyn, *Cheyenne Way* (Norman, 1941), *passim*.
[19] *The Journal of General Psychology*, 20 (1939), p. 131.

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important in controlling aggression within the family and in supplementing and checking retaliation within the band. [121]

In presenting the description and analysis of Paiute social control I have started with a detailed discussion of the religious beliefs and the theories of sickness and therapy because these beliefs and theories are essential to an understanding of the analysis of sorcery as a method of social control. In conclusion I have summarized the types of social control found in Harney Valley and have stated some of the conditions which seems to be correlated with the presence of sorcery as a method of control. Finally, I have attempted to test the validity of these correlations by a study of a sample of other societies. The material to test these correlations was taken from the files of the Cross-Cultural Survey. [125]

THE PROBLEM OF DIAGNOSIS

AS has been shown, there are four major causes of illness recognized by the Paiutes and diagnosed by the doctors. It is formally stated that the doctor decides with the help of his power which type of disease is responsible for the condition of a patient. When asked, informants said that there was no way of diagnosing from symptoms and that no layman could predict what a doctor's power would tell him. They refused to recognize the fact that often the relatives and the community as a whole have definite ideas as to the nature of the disease before they ever summon a doctor. They refused to recognize that doctors do not choose at random from the possible explanations, and that their choice is usually in accord with, and influenced by, public opinion. 755 [753]

I have attempted to discover the unformalized criteria which both the laymen and doctors use in diagnosing disease. Cases which were complete enough to give an analyzable segment of the social events preceding the sickness were selected for study and it was found that there were similarities in the life events, in the ages, and in the circumstances surrounding the onset of sickness of people who were said to suffer from the same diseases. [121]

A study of the cases where the patient's own power was given as the cause of illness suggests that this diagnosis is given when some of the following conditions are present: when the patient is young; when one of the patient's parents or close relatives has power; when the patient is known or rumored to have power or when he can remember recurrent dreams; when the patient has special talents which he does or does not use; or when some major affliction, such as blindness, occurs when the patient is still young. 753 [755]

Helen's illness at the time of the birth of her only son, Bill, is an example of a case of sickness caused by one's own power. Helen's father died when she was a year and a half old, and her mother was held responsible for his death by her in-laws. According to Helen he fell from a wild horse which he attempted to ride when drunk. In any case, his family made it so unpleasant for Helen's mother that she set out all alone on one of her husband's horses for Fort Bidwell. There she married J. Smith, a cousin of her deceased husband. The children were brought up by their grandparents and Helen did not see her mother until six years later when she and her two youngest brothers were sent to the Indian boarding school at Fort Bidwell. [752]

Helen was the youngest child in school and does not seem to have been very happy except during vacations when she stayed with her mother. She was fond

A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF SORCERY AND SOCIAL CONTROL[1]

626 593 627 681 IT has been shown that social control in Paiute society is administered by the extended family. Retaliation is the essential mechanism for maintaining law and order and takes the form of direct physical violence or sorcery. When a person wrongs another, he fears not only assault but sickness. On the other hand, the practice of sorcery is a crime and leads to retaliation, so that a person is afraid of being accused of sorcery. The only check on retaliation is public opinion; the by-
[208] standers witnessing a fight may separate the contestants and advise them to make up their differences, and gossip, particularly accusations of meanness, checks excessive violence.

121 626 A survey of a selected sample of primitive tribes throughout the world suggests that there are two main types of social control: the coordinate and the superordinate. Paiute society is an example of the first type, the essential characteristics of which are the absence of an individual or group of individuals with delegated authority to settle disputes and punish offenses and the presence of retaliation administered by peers as the major mechanism for social control. The kin or local group avenges wrongs done to its members and defends them from retaliation by outsiders. In societies which have superordinate control, on the other hand, the persons who decide disputes and punish wrongs are not necessarily members of the injured man's or criminal's group but are selected by birth, talent, or popular election. Because of their authority they have higher status than the disputants in the case.

[154] The fact that both sorcery and coordinate control are found in Paiute society, and, as careful analysis has shown, are functionally related, suggested that they should occur together in other societies. The purpose of this chapter is to present a preliminary cross-cultural test of this hypothesis.

121 If the hypothesis is true, it should be possible to derive it from accepted anthropological and psychological principles. The analysis of sorcery and social control in Paiute society suggest that the following principles are operating. Since, by definition, coordinate control is based upon retaliation, it follows that whenever a person wrongs another he is punished by the wronged person or by the wronged

[1] This cross-cultural study was made in 1941-42 when the files were less complete than they are today and when the techniques of cross-cultural study were in their infancy. This study can only be considered exploratory. Lack of access to the files has made it impossible to check and expand the study.

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person's group; hence, by the principle of anticipation,[3] a person learns to expect punishment as soon as he has wronged another, and, by the same principle, he also fears punishment as soon as he wishes to wrong another. Now since, because of the conflict of interests between the members of a society, any person at times will wish to wrong others, it follows that he will at these times fear retaliation.[5] Most primitive societies have no adequate realistic theories of disease. Sickness and punishment both cause the individual pain, and, by the principle of generalization,[4] sickness is viewed as similar to punishment. Hence, if a person is sick and at the same time fears retaliation, he will assume that the sickness is caused by an enemy. It should follow, therefore, that in societies where the fear of retaliation is great, the fear of sorcery should also be great.

In attempting to test this hypothesis, the author first went through the Cross-Cultural Survey files, recording the presence or absence of sorcery and of coordinate control. This proved unsuccessful because, of the fifty tribes sampled, only two completely lacked the concept of sorcery. Since it was obvious, however, that sorcery is far more important in some societies than in others, the files were rechecked in order to determine its importance in each society. The following criteria were used and the data entered:

SORCERY

A. As an explanation of sickness:
   1. Only
   2. Important
   3. Unimportant
   4. Absent

B. Personnel
   1. Anyone
   2. Specialists—hiring
   3. Specialists—no hiring
   4. None

[3] According to the principle of anticipation, responses near the end of a series which terminates in a reward tend to occur earlier in the series. Cf. N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), pp. 49-53, and C. L. Hull, "Goal Attraction and Directing Ideas Conceived as Habit Phenomena" (*Psychological Review*, 38, 1931), pp. 487-506.

[5] These basic assumptions are all embodied in Freud's theory of projection. For a discussion of the role of projection in sorcery see Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (New York, 1939), pp. 305-309. Cf. also A. I. Hallowell, "Fear and Anxiety as Cultural and Individual Variables in a Primitive Society" (*Journal of Social Psychology*, 9, no. 1, 1938), pp. 25-47.

[4] According to the principle of generalization, similar situations tend to evoke the same response in individuals. Cf. C. L. Hull, "The Problem of Stimulus Equivalence in Behavior Theory" (*Psychological Review*, 46, 1939), pp. 19-30, and N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), pp. 44-45.

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C. Punishment of sorcery
1. Killing or ostracism
2. Fining and other minor punishments
3. Neither

Most societies have more than one explanation for disease, many having as many as four or five. The most common causes are: natural causes, ghosts, gods, spirits, sorcerers, and the infringement of taboos. Most ethnographers give some indication of the relative importance of these explanations and, if sorcery is one of them, often comment on the extent of the fear of sorcerers. If the ethnographer did not make such a statement, information as to the number and severity of cases attributed to sorcery as compared to other explanations was used as a criterion of its relative importance as an explanation for sickness.

The personnel of sorcery was recorded on the assumption that sorcery is more important in societies where anyone is a potential sorcerer or where anyone can hire a sorcerer to kill an enemy, the assumption being that there should be less fear of sorcery if only a few individuals are dangerous.

The information as to the punishment of sorcery was gathered on the assumption that an individual fears accusations of sorcery more if the punishment is death or ostracism, than if the punishment is a fine or some other minor penalty.

When it came to making the analysis, it was found that only criterion A could be used. In many societies where anyone could be a sorcerer and the punishment was death or ostracism, the author specifically stated that there were very few sorcerers. For example, in Lepcha society, specialists could be hired, yet Mr. Gorer found that only two cases of sorcery were remembered by living informants. Similarly, in several of the Polynesian societies, anyone could be a sorcerer but few cases of sorcery were reported. In some societies, on the other hand, the author stated that sorcery was important but could be practiced only by specialists who could not be hired. This seems to be particularly true of South American tribes, for example the Tupinamba. Therefore, sorcery was listed as important if it was an important explanation for sickness.

The type of social control in the various societies was determined by analyzing the treatment of serious offenses. The seriousness of an offense was judged wherever possible by the reaction of the members of the society as reported by the ethnographer. In general, murder, sorcery, theft, and adultery belonged in this category, and were used in determining the type of control if the ethnographer did not make a statement as to the relative seriousness of offenses. The treatment of murder proved the best criterion. It was found that in societies where murder cases are settled by a delegated authority, cases of adultery are often left to individual retaliation, and cases of theft are often settled out of court. Sorcery is considered a religious offense in some societies and is treated differently from other crimes. Hence, societies in which murder was settled by retaliation were classified

as coordinate, and those in which murder cases were referred to a delegated authority as superordinate. 121

Using the above criteria the author made a tetrachoric correlation between the importance or unimportance of sorcery as an explanation of sickness and the presence or absence of coordinate control. The correlation between the importance of sorcery and coordinate control was significant (see Table I), but it was obvious

TABLE I

24 (48%) 11 (22%)
1 (2%) 14 (28%)
R = .85 (reliable at .60)

	No superordinate justice (coordinate control)			Superordinate justice	
Sorcery important	Arunta	Apache	Barama Caribs	Ashanti	Hill Maria Gonds
	Buka	Chuckchee	Delaware	Azande	Kwakiutl
	Dieri	Copper Eskimo	Jivaro	Chagga	Lamba
	Dobu	Ifugao	Witoto	Fiji	Sanpoil
	Kiwai	Kutchin		Kamilaroi	
	Kwoma	Mala		Tiv	
	Lesu	Maori		Venda	
	Murngin	Paiute			
	Orokaiva	Yurok			
	Trobriands	Zuni			
Sorcery unimportant	Lango			Bali	Cayapa
				Japan	Cheyenne
				Kazak	Crow
				Lepcha	Samoa
				Masai	Tikopia
				Ontong Java	Tonga
				Riff	
				Tanala	

that Africa was strikingly aberrant, all but three of the nine tribes sampled having sorcery as an important explanation for sickness and not coordinate but superordinate control.

The material on Africa was then analyzed in more detail to see if some other variables could be discovered. The author concentrated on Evans-Prichard's account of the Azande,[9] which had the best material on both sorcery and social control.

[9] *Cf.* E. E. Evans-Prichard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (London, 1937), for most complete account of sorcery.

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When a major offense, for example injury by sorcery, is committed, the relatives of the injured person consult an oracle and if the oracle confirms their suspicion that sorcery has been practiced by a certain individual, they send a message to the chief's court and ask for a hearing. The case is presented before the chief's oracle, which acts as the judge in the case. If the oracle confirms the accusation, the chief gives the relatives permission to retaliate. The actual retaliation, however, is executed by the relatives and not by the chief or the members of his court. Adultery is treated in a similar way, and these are the two most common and serious offenses. In other words, there is an authority delegated to decide cases but there is no group with power to execute punishments. This was also found to be the case among the Tiv and Chagga.

The author decided to reclassify all the tribes, distinguishing between superordinate justice and superordinate punishment. If the members of a group avenged the murder of one of its members without securing permission from an individual or group of individuals, the society was listed as having coordinate control; if the group secured permission before it took action, the society was listed as having superordinate justice but no superordinate punishment; if the group presented its case to a chief or court and depended on them to punish the murderer, the society was listed as having both superordinate justice and punishment. In some societies there was an individual or group of individuals who settled cases, but it was stated that the complainants did not always abide by the decision. In cases of this kind the author attempted to evaluate the number of cases which were settled by the delegated authority, and, if they seemed to be in the majority, the society was listed as having superordinate justice. It was found that there were no societies which had superordinate punishment that did not also have superordinate justice. On the other hand, only seventeen of the twenty-five tribes which had superordinate justice had superordinate punishment as well.

Two tetrachoric correlations were then made, the first between the presence or absence of sorcery as an explanation for sickness and the presence or absence of superordinate justice (see Table I), and the second between the presence or absence of sorcery as an important explanation for sickness and the presence or absence of superordinate justice and punishment (see Table II). The tetrachoric correlation was used on the advice of Professor Carl Hovland, who recommended it for similar cross-cultural correlations made by Ford and Whiting.[6] The table of reliability computed by Hovland was also used.[7] Both correlations were found to be significant; r equals .85 in the first case (reliable for fifty tribes at .60); r equals .85+ in the second case (reliable for fifty tribes at .57). These correlations indicate that in the selected sample there is less than one chance in a hundred that

[6] C. S. Ford and J. W. M. Whiting used this correlation in their cross-cultural analysis of identification. Cf. ms. of paper presented at the Monday Night Group, Institute of Human Relations, New Haven, 1942.

[7] The computing diagrams drawn up by L. Chesire, M. Saffir and L. L. Thurstone were used. Cf. *Computing Diagrams for Tetrachoric Correlation Coefficient* (Chicago, 1933).

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the correlation between sorcery as an important explanation for sickness and co- |21| ordinate control is due to chance.

Several criticisms of the above correlations can be made. There is the problem of the reliability of the judgment of the author as to the importance of sorcery

TABLE II

30 (60%) 5 (10%)
3 (6%) 12 (24%)
R = .85 (reliable at .57)

	No superordinate punishment			Superordinate punishment	
Sorcery important	Arunta	Apache	Azande	Ashanti	
	Buka	Chuckchee	Barama Caribs	Fiji	
	Dieri	Copper Eskimo	Chagga	Lamba	
	Dobu	Delaware	Hill Maria Gonds	Sanpoil	
	Kamilaroi	Ifugao	Jivaro	Venda	
	Kiwai	Kutchin	Tiv		
	Kwoma	Kwakiutl	Witoto		
	Lesu	Paiute			
	Mala	Trobriands			
	Maori	Yurok			
	Murngin	Zuni			
	Orokaiva				
Sorcery unimportant	Kazak			Bali	Cayapa
	Lango			Japan	Cheyenne
	Masai			Lepcha	Crow
				Ontong Java	Tikopia
				Riff	Tonga
				Samoa	
				Tanala	

in each society and the presence or absence of superordinate justice and punishment. Ideally several people should make independent judgements and a test of the reliability should be made. This was not feasible at the time the study was made. It was possible, however, to test the reliability of the author's judgements of the importance of sorcery as an explanation of sickness with the ratings made by the two judges for Whiting and Child in their cross-cultural study of the relation of theories of disease to child training practices.[8] The percent of agreement between the two sets of judgments in the thirty-three overlapping cases was eighty-one which is generally accepted as reliable.

A second major criticism of the above correlations can be made on the grounds

[8] See John Whiting and Irvin Child—unpublished manuscript.

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[2] that in selecting the tribes used in the correlation no allowance has been made for historical connections and diffusion. The question might be raised as to whether the connections between sorcery and coordinate control are not in many cases historical rather than functional.[9] From this point of view, including the Dieri, Arunta, Murngin, and Kamilaroi in the sample might be said to be counting as four cases what is really just one case. These tribes are all Australian and belong in an area that shares many cultural traits because of common origin and diffusion. Perhaps all these groups were originally members of the same tribe which had both sorcery and coordinate control or perhaps either, or both of these traits originated in one tribe and spread by diffusion to the others.[10] Similarly it could be argued that the New Guinea tribes—the Kwoma, Orokaiva, and Kiwai—or the Polynesian Tongans and Samoans should have been counted as one case.

The problem of factoring out historical connections is a difficult one. Unfortunately world ethnology has not reached the point where one can be sure of historical connections. Furthermore, with the exception of North America, the mapping of culture areas is only in its early stages. It would seem that the best possible precaution is to avoid counting two tribes from an area which is generally recognized as having cultural unity.

A selection of tribes was made on the basis of the above criteria and it was found that, of the fifty tribes, twenty-six could be said to belong to distinct culture areas. Although this is a very small sample, correlations were made and were also found to be significant (see Tables III and IV).

A study of the contrast between cultural areas within larger geographic areas gives additional evidence of the presence of a functional relation between sorcery and coordinate control. The general picture in Oceania is that of increasing superordinate control as one progresses from Australia into Polynesia. In Australia and New Guinea sorcery is the only, or an important, explanation for sickness and, with the exception of the Kamilaroi, who have a council of head men who sometimes decide cases, there is no superordinate justice. In Polynesia, on the other hand, the majority of the societies have superordinate justice and punishment, and sickness is usually attributed to punishment by the gods or the breaking of taboos rather than to sorcery. Melanesia and the islands on the western and southwestern fringes of Polynesia are transitional. In general, sorcery is important. Unlike Australia

[9] For a discussion of historical and functional factors in cultural correlations see Clyde Kluckhohn, "On Certain Recent Applications of Association Coefficients to Ethnographic Data" (*American Anthropologist*, 41, no. 3), pp. 359-366. See also G. P. Murdock, "Correlations of Matrilineal and Patrilineal Institutions" (*Studies in the Science of Society*, New Haven, 1937), pp. 450-453.

[10] Even if one accepts the hypothesis of diffusion, however, the question can be raised as to whether sorcery would diffuse to a society that has superordinate control or conversely whether a superordinate type of social control would diffuse to a society with a strong sorcery complex. Furthermore, if one of these traits did diffuse, one might assume that if the connection is a functional one a readjustment would take place in the culture. For example, if superordinate control was introduced, sorcery should eventually become unimportant.

and New Guinea, however, there are chiefs. These chiefs, however, do not have the same type of power as the Polynesian chiefs. Their duties are primarily ceremonial and do not concern social control except when the offense is ceremonial or concerns them directly. Fiji is peculiar in that sorcery is important and the social control system is similar to Tonga and Samoa.

TABLE III

12 (46%) 4 (15%)
0 (0%) 10 (39%)
R = .95 (reliable at .82)

	No superordinate justice		Superordinate justice	
Sorcery important	Arunta	Barama Caribs	Ashanti	
	Chuckchee	Kwoma	Azandi	
	Copper Eskimo	Trobriands	Hill Maria Gonds	
	Delaware	Tupinamba*	Kwakiutl	
	Ifugao	Witoto		
	Paiute			
	Zuni			
Sorcery unimportant			Cheyenne	Bali
			Japan	Cayapa
			Lepcha	Kazak
			Masai	Samoa
			Rif	
			Tanala	

* The information on the Tupinamba is scanty and for this reason the tribe was not used in the first sample.

Similar contrasts can be made between culture areas in North America. The Eskimo, Mackenzie-Yukon, Great Basin, and northern Californian tribes, and probably most of the northeastern tribes, have coordinate control and sorcery. In the southwestern pueblos and probably in some of the tribes of the southeast the sorcery complex is similar and, although the chiefs are more important, their duties are ceremonial and not directly concerned with social control.[11] In the Plains, on the other hand, there is superordinate control at least during part of the year—the season for hunting buffalo—and sorcery is unimportant. During the hunting season the warriors and chiefs have the authority to decide cases and to punish crime; during the other seasons of the year the control may be coordinate, although in

[11] The Natchez were an exception. They had rulers with superordinate judiciary and executive powers. Cf. R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society* (New York, 1920), p. 383.

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[2] some tribes groups who have authority during the buffalo drives tend to keep their authority in the other season. The Northwest Coast and parts of the Plateau have both sorcery as an important explanation for sickness and superordinate justice and sometimes punishment. It has been suggested, however, that the importance of the chiefs is of relatively recent origin.

TABLE IV

15 (57%) 1 (4%)
2 (8%) 8 (31%)
R = .92 (reliable at .87)

	No superordinate punishment		Superordinate punishment	
Sorcery important	Chuckchee	Arunta	Ashanti	
	Copper Eskimo	Azande		
	Delaware	Barama Carib		
	Hill Maria Gonds	Ifugao		
	Kwakiutl	Kwoma		
	Paiute	Trobriands		
	Zuni	Tupinamba		
		Witoto		
Sorcery unimportant	Masai		Cheyenne	Bali
	Kazak		Japan	Cayapa
			Lepcha	Samoa
			Riff	
			Tanala	

At the time this study was made, there was not enough material on South America to give a clear impression of the distribution of either sorcery or types of social control.

The analysis of the culture areas of Africa[12] does not reveal any striking differences between areas. Of the two tribes in which sorcery is not important, the Riff are in the northern coastal area and the Lango in the transitional area between the semi-desert and the forest country.[13] However, since I have no other tribes in either of these areas, I cannot say whether or not this is typical. In the other areas included in the sample, sorcery is important and there is some type of superordinate control. There is some indication, however, that superordinate control was intro-

[12] Culture areas used are those mapped by W. D. Hambly, "Source Book for Anthropology" (*Anthropological Series of the Field Museum of Natural History*, 26, Part 1), pp. 135-136.

[13] The author's rating of the importance of sorcery among the Riff was not in accord with the ratings made by the judges in the Whiting-Child study.

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duced at the time of the development of the large kingdoms and that many types of offenses are still left to the small community groups to control in a coordinate manner. Neither Hambly's culture area mapping for Africa nor the sample of tribes used in the study is sufficiently adequate to make any further statement.

The sample of tribes in Asia is too small to make any general statements.

The above survey of societies suggests several other hypotheses which should be tested cross-culturally; one is that the belief that sickness is caused by the gods is correlated with superordinate control, as is seen to be the case in Polynesia. Whiting and Child, in their cross-cultural study of the relation of childhood training practices to theories of disease, made ratings of the importance of various explanations of sickness in eighty-five societies. Of the eighty-five tribes only thirty-three overlapped with the author's sample. Taking the judges' ratings on the importance of spirits in human forms or ancestors as an explanation of sickness and correlating it with the presence or absence of superordinate justice, it was found that the correlation, though not significant, was in the opposite direction from the prediction, more tribes having both the absence of superordinate justice and the presence of spirits in human forms and ancestors as an explanation for sickness. In as much as Whiting and Child in their ratings distinguished only between spirits of animal and human form and did not attempt to evaluate the status of the spirits, it might still be worth attempting to test the hypothesis with the latter type of rating.

A second hypothesis suggested by the survey is that superordinate control and the absence of sorcery as an important explanation for sickness is correlated with the size of the population of the community, small communities tending to have coordinate control.[14] A preliminary test of this hypothesis was run using population figures collected by Murdock and Goodenough on the average population of the community of forty-two tribes.[15] Unfortunately there were only twenty of these tribes which were also in the author's sample. The mean population for the eleven tribes who had no superordinate justice was 114, for the nine tribes with superordinate justice 323. Applying a T test, the difference between these means is significant at the five percent level. In other words, the hypothesis that superordinate control is correlated with the larger group is substantiated.

[14] This hypothesis is similar to Redfield's. See "The Folk Society" (*American Journal of Sociology*, 1947, vol. LII), pp. 292-308.

[15] Unpublished notes G. P. Murdock and Ward Goodenough.

PREFACE

In the arid desert of the Great Basin, rivers and streams empty into the interior valleys and create lakes and marshy areas. These marshes were very important to the Indians who lived near them and fished in their waters and hunted the migrating waterfowl which are attracted to them. From the reeds and rushes growing in the marshes and around the shores of the lakes, they fashioned light rafts or balsas. They used these balsas as a means of transportation across the water and as an aid in pursuing their quarry.

Wherever extensive pools of water are found in the Great Basin the Indians made tule balsas. The exact form of these rafts differed slightly from group to group. To make the balsa, from one to five bundles of tules were lashed, or occasionally pinned, together. The pointed prow of the raft usually curved upward, while the stern was trimmed off and not pointed. Sometimes extra, small bunches of reeds were tied along the sides of the raft to form a gunwale. The balsas were usually poled, pushed ahead of the wading hunter, or pulled by a rope by a swimmer. Only a few Basin Indians paddled them.

In these same marshy areas where cattails are plentiful the Paviotsos of northern Nevada used them to make conical thatched winter houses. Domed and conical houses made of willow and grass or rush thatching were common in the Great Basin but this particular sort of cattail house was made only by the Paviotsos.

In this report Mrs. Wheat describes with words and photographs how a tule balsa and a cattail house were made by present day Paviotsos near Stillwater, Nevada.

—The Editor.

[P. 3]

Preface

The present study has developed from a dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Yale University. That manuscript has been extensively revised with the inclusion of new and valuable comparative data. Revision has led also to a reformulation of the significance of the distributional evidence for the basic problems involved in the inferential reconstruction of native history in western North America.

The descriptive data on shamanism presented here were collected in the course of three summers spent in making an ethnographic study of the Paviotso Indians in western Nevada. Work during the summer of 1933 was made possible through the generosity of Mr. H. U. Brandenstein of San Francisco. I am grateful to him for making it possible for me to gain my first experience in field work and for continued encouragement and interest. Investigations during the following two seasons were made under the auspices of the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University. The financial support which enabled me to add materially to my knowledge of Paviotso culture is deeply appreciated.

The gathering of the material and the preparation of this study have benefited from the suggestions and encouragement of my teachers and colleagues. Above all I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Edward Sapir and Dr. Leslie Spier, who, by their inspiration, encouragement, and helpful suggestions in the course of field work and in the preparation of the present study, contributed materially to my understanding of ethnological problems. Dr. Melville J. Herskovits's many valuable criticisms during the course of revision, and his unfailing encouragement to publish this venture in the field of anthropological theory are deeply appreciated. Dr. Robert H. Lowie was kind enough to read the manuscript and make suggestions for improvement.

Many people have generously contributed to make up the serious deficiencies in the published accounts of shamanism in western North America. I wish to extend my thanks here to all who so kindly placed unpublished field notes at my disposal. Specific acknowledgment is made where these important additions enter the discussion.

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I. The Problem

Introduction

For several decades the religions of the American Indian tribes have provided data for the anthropologist bent on reconstructing the history and interrelationships of New World cultures. Notable studies in this field have displayed a wide variety of interests and aims, ranging from an intensive investigation of growth in a single tribal religion to an analysis of the interrelationships, practices, and beliefs on a continental scale. Still others have sought to reconstruct the growth, including relative chronological sequences, of ceremonies or entire religions in a more or less culturally homogeneous area. Whatever the specific goal and scope of these studies may be, it is either explicitly stated or implicitly recognized that the empirical data of geographical distribution, in the absence of more direct evidence such as documentary accounts of past events, afford an important body of knowledge for inferring the history of religions along with other cultural developments.

The distributional study of even simple generalized customs and beliefs yields evidence of the various interrelationships of cultures during their growth. Just as in the reconstruction of the history of more complex institutions, it is not necessary, and in fact it may be impossible, to determine the chronological sequence of accretion. Knowledge of the divergent sources and spatial relationships of several elements forming the complex does indicate, however, the interconnections among localized unique cultures. Without any attempt to postulate time-sequences, this may be considered a legitimate approach to the problems of culture history.

Shamanism in the New World presents an example of relatively simple and undifferentiated practices and beliefs which have wide but differing distributions. Moreover, the nearly universal occurrence in the Western Hemisphere of this type of religion suggests a respectable antiquity, at any rate, for some of the elements of the complex. Possibly, as Kroeber[1] suggests, shamanism may have been part of the cultural equipment of the first settlers in

[1] Kroeber, *Anthropology*, 349; *American Culture and the Northwest Coast*, 2.

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[2] the New World. This, however, does not argue that the simple elements forming the complex are identical throughout the Western Hemisphere. A merely superficial examination of North American shamanism reveals quite striking differences in content, in meaning, and in the way practices and beliefs are combined with other customs. Years ago, Dixon pointed out certain of these distinctions in the attitudes and customs of the New World shamans. The local variations evident in that brief survey include, among others, differences in means of acquiring supernatural power, the variety in the functions and the performances of the shamans, and their position and influence in society.[2] Important distinctions in practices clearly setting off one part of aboriginal California from another were recognized by Kroeber.[3] Again, Spier, in appraising recently the place of the Klamath in western North America, has precisely defined the distribution of certain of the elements in the shamanistic complex of this region.[4] It is evident that despite the possible considerable age and relative simplicity of shamanism in the New World, we are dealing with a locally varying amalgam of historically heterogeneous traits. Accordingly, a study of the practices and beliefs of a particular tribe in reference to their spatial setting should reveal at least some of the cultural relationships contributing to the development of the localized complex.

Scope of the Problem

The goal of the present study will be to ascertain those interrelationships of tribal cultures reflected in the geographical distributions of the elements found in a single localized shamanistic complex. The practices and beliefs of the shamans among the Paviotso or Northern Paiute of western Nevada will be considered in their distributional setting in order to indicate the cultural connections contributing to the growth of that complex.

In order to focus attention on the elements which are to be analyzed in their spatial relationships, an account of Paviotso practices and beliefs will first be presented. The distribution of

[2] Dixon, *Some Aspects of the American Shaman.*
[3] Kroeber, *The Religion of the Indians of California*, 327–334; *Handbook*, 851–855.
[4] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, 224 f.

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these elements will then be traced among the neighboring tribes of the Great Basin, the Plateau, California, and several of the so-called Western Rancheria[5] tribes of the non-pueblo Southwest. The data thus presented will suggest some of the cultural relationships among the several tribes of this region. In addition, this evidence should enable us to appraise certain of the tribal and regional differences and similarities with reference to several important historical problems in western North America.

One of these more persistent questions in the cultural history of this region is that of the relationship of Great Basin cultures with those of the surrounding areas of central California, the Plateau, and the Plains. It is manifestly impossible to determine on the basis of only one phase of culture, such as shamanism, the interdependence or individuality of a group of cultures. Nevertheless, a precise statement of the Paviotso position, and so far as possible that of other Basin tribes, in shamanistic practices both in contrast and in relation to the neighboring areas will suggest more accurately than has been possible to date the extent of historical independence of and connection with the surrounding cultures.

It should be clearly understood that limiting the present study to a particular area of western North America carries no implication of historical autonomy for that region. Unquestionably, an appreciable number of the elements found in this area occur widely elsewhere in the New World and also in Asia. Thus the distribution of certain practices within this area will not exhaust all the possibilities of interrelationships. Although continental and intercontinental distributions yield evidence of suggestive historical connections, the growth of a local complex can be inferred from a detailed examination of more limited spatial interrelationships. In this study, therefore, I shall analyze the shamanistic phenomena of an arbitrarily delimited area, always recognizing

[5] This term is used by Spier to designate the group which "includes the tribes lying between the western Pueblos and the Colorado river, i.e., Navaho, Western Apache, Pima, Papago, Havasupai, Yavapai, Walapai, and others." *Problems Arising from the Cultural Position of the Havasupai*, 214.

Not all the tribes of this group will be considered in this study, for data on shamanism from some are extremely scanty, whereas with others, as in the case of the Navaho, the heavy overlay of Pueblo ceremonialism as yet obscures the precise extent of shamanism in the religious life.

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possibilities of intrusive influences from surrounding cultures.

The position of the present undertaking in relation to other distributional studies of shamanistic practices in western North America should be clarified. In assessing the position of the Klamath among the cultures of western North America, Spier has given by far the most thorough and exhaustive analysis of the geographical range of certain practices.[6] Although additional material available since the publication of *Klamath Ethnography* modifies few of Spier's conclusions, a re-examination of the data and the use of the new material should shed light on those cultural connections reflected in the growth of the Paviotso complex. Further, whatever unique features characterize the practices of these people, perhaps those of the Great Basin as a whole should emerge from the distributional data.

Some of the methodological difficulties besetting such an historical study as the present one should not pass unremarked. In the first place, it is generally recognized that the growth of culture through the processes of diffusion is not mechanical; that there are powerful, but often subtle, factors that determine the selection and modification of traits in the course of the development of a complex or of a total civilization. In the case of the shamanistic complex under consideration here, it can be shown that elements found among the Paviotso enter into different combinations and are variously interpreted in the religions of neighboring peoples. It follows, then, that the conditions under which transmission takes place and the cultural setting into which new elements are fitted are of the utmost importance in accurately reconstructing a detailed and fully satisfactory history of a tribal culture. But empirical knowledge of these factors in societies that have no means of recording in reasonably permanent form events which lead to change, can be derived, as Radin has demonstrated,[7] only from the study of the actual conditions under which each case of borrowing takes place. Radin is unquestionably right when he insists that documents recorded by actual participants in events yield valuable direct evidence of history, but it is imposing un-

[6] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, 239–279. I wish to acknowledge with gratitude my debt to this study. It will be evident in the following pages that I have drawn upon it heavily for suggestions and guidance in procedure and for material.

[7] Radin, *A Sketch of the Peyote Cult*, 1, 22; *Method and Theory of Ethnology*, 186–238.

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justifiable limits on historical reconstruction when evidence of only these recent events is admitted; that other cases of borrowing have not been recorded in such satisfactory detail does not argue that they should be ignored. Here the historian of culture is confronted with the need for sober analysis of the data of geographical distribution in order to derive the maximum of historical inference warranted by the information, avoiding pretentious claims for completeness and chronology. If we recognize, then, that reconstruction of the unverified events of the past in terms of generalized situations may often be misleading, it will be more realistic simply to regard diffusion here as an accomplished fact and to confine attention to the task of determining the cultural connections in the area under consideration without postulating unauthenticated conditions of diffusion and assimilation.

Naturally, this does not mean that all elements in the complex are to be weighted alike in such an historical reconstruction. It must be recognized that there are important differentials in the diffusion of separate elements as well as of systems of cultures, that one trait may spread rapidly over a wide area while another custom or practice, equally old, may be transmitted to only a limited number of cultures.[8] Thus it cannot be denied that the transmission of shamanistic practices in western North America has been facilitated in some cases and in others inhibited by numerous cultural and geographical factors.[9] It is no longer possible, however, to determine the precise circumstances which in one tribe facilitated the adoption of a new practice and in another culture caused its rejection. Certainly this consideration alone gives a dubious validity to any time-sequence inferred only from distributional evidence. In view of these limitations on the inferential reconstruction of history, therefore, the present study will be restricted to the determination of the interrelationships of the Paviotso with the surrounding cultures, so far as the evidence warrants. Nevertheless, the operation of certain factors favoring

[8] It is recognized that anthropologists are usually aware of these crucial points. In fact, the general formulations of the problems involved in culture-borrowing nearly always emphasize the factors controlling the spread of cultures and traits. Frequently, however, the same scholars neglect or ignore these powerful differentials in making specific historical reconstructions.

[9] Sapir has discussed a number of the conditions that are responsible for differences in rates of diffusion. *Time Perspective*, 30 f.

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121 or limiting the processes of borrowing cannot be ignored entirely,
177 for from the uniqueness of a complex which in terms of content can be duplicated in several neighboring tribes, it is evident that they have had an important rôle in the selection and interpretation of traits.

121 Still another problem involving these differentials in the rate of
171 diffusion is that of the weighting or determining of what may be called the historical value of cultural elements or complexes. It should be recognized that the distribution of one element or a particular cluster of beliefs and practices may indicate closer historical connection than can be inferred from the geographical range of another trait or complex. An example will clarify this point. Among a considerable number of tribes in western North America, shamanistic power is customarily secured by a deliberate quest. The frequently recurring association of several practices and beliefs in the "power quest" suggests a higher degree of relationship among the people following this practice than is indicated by the distribution of such a belief as that in which supernatural power is derived from animal spirits. Often, of course, the closer connection inferred on this basis may result from a more recent development and spread of the complex; but this chronological sequence cannot always be verified. On the other hand, in an appreciable number of other instances there is no justification at all for an assumption of time-relationships. It is evident, then, that although relatively complex traits or complexes often offer a basis for inferring close relationship among the cultures where they are found, such reconstructions do not depend alone on this factor, for apparently simple practices in some instances are likewise of considerable value in determining past cultural connections. Clearly, the historical value of culture traits rests upon the several factors that are responsible for differences in both the rate of diffusion and the conditions under which selection and assimilation take place. At present, criteria are not available for judging differentials in historical usefulness of the distributional data of institutions and customs. Possibly, exhaustive critical studies of many culture complexes under carefully analyzed conditions of transmission may illuminate this problem so vital to the inferential reconstruction of culture history. These consider-

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ations make it imperative, therefore, to recognize that at least a judicious weighting of distributional evidence is vitally important in making historical inferences, for the mechanical use of such data may lead to results which are quite as misleading as unsupported theorizing.

These tantalizing obstacles in the path of accurate and faithful history are often complicated by a meagerness of data at important points. At other times a decided unevenness of treatment, even where materials are reasonably full, seriously handicaps distributional studies. It must be evident that inferential reconstructions cannot be expected to fill many of the lacunae in our knowledge of the past. It is clear, then, that it is possible to define here only approximately those interrelationships of cultures in western North America suggested by the distributional evidence. The difficulties inherent in this study are, of course, those common to all attempts at reconstruction that follow this or similar procedures. They are still no less crucial in assessing the validity of the history which may be inferred from the evidence that is to be presented.

Still another limitation placed on the present study deserves a brief remark. Without doubt, such an analysis as is proposed here neglects many important problems involving the subjective side of religious experiences in these cultures. Unquestionably, shamanism offers a fascinating field for psychological investigation of culture and is, moreover, rich in possibilities for a fruitful examination of the interrelationships of personality and culture. It is not necessarily true that these problems have no place in an historical study, for many of the subjective attitudes and components of personality may eventually prove to be as much the product of cultural development as institutions and customs. At the present time, however, material is not available for a consideration of the historical movements in these subtler phases of cultures.

Finally, we must not ignore the importance that individuals may have played in the growth of the complex that is to be analyzed here. Radin has assigned to the North American shaman the task of systematizing and interpreting religious ideas,[10] but

[10] Radin, *Religion of North American Indians*, 269 f.

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121 it is not apparent that shamans everywhere in the New World
114 have performed this function to the same degree. Nevertheless, the changes in the shamanistic practices and beliefs have in each tribe resulted from the borrowing, the interpretations, and the inventions of novel ideas by individual shamans. A thorough study of borrowing processes must take into account such significant events and people. At the present time, however, knowledge of the contributions made by individual shamans to the totality of Paviotso practice is irretrievably lost to us. Therefore, although it is vitally important to bear in mind that these forces are ever present in making history, the limitations imposed on this study minimize the necessity for unverifiable assumptions of individuals, events, or chronology.

Definition of Shamanism

The great diversity of practices and beliefs presented by a survey of shamanism does not readily yield a clear definition of the term. In fact, shamanism usually has been defined descriptively, often in terms of the practices of a particular region. That this procedure is subject to error is evident when it is realized that in one society the shaman may have certain priestly functions, in another his duties relate only to curing. Laufer has shown that the word itself is an old term in the Turkish-Tungusian languages.[11] Frequently, we find that shamanism is defined largely by eastern Siberian practices. In clarifying the differences in current usage and in order to arrive at a definite formulation of the term for this study, it is interesting to review briefly several of the definitions prevailing in the literature.

Shamanism is defined by MacCulloch in terms of the functions of the shaman. According to this statement, the shaman is regarded as one who has undifferentiated priestly, prophetic, and magico-medical functions. Although it is recognized that the shaman exercises certain priestly functions, his main powers are connected with healing and divination. "He has direct intercourse with spirits and actual (bodily or spiritual) access to the spirit-world. All his magical arts are done by virtue of his power over

[11] Laufer, *Origin of the Word Shaman*, 361.

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or influence with spirits."[12] The shaman is accordingly distinguished by his active relations to the spirit world, not by his knowledge of esoteric doctrines and rituals.

Swanton distinguishes two classes of mediators between the world of spirits and the world of men, shamans, and priests. The shaman's authority is entirely dependent on individual ability. The priests are those who act "in some measure for the tribe or nation, or at least for some society."[13] This clean-cut differentiation of priests and shamans does not hold everywhere, for in some cultures, such as those of the Northwest coast, shamans exercise certain priestly functions, although in this respect they may be overshadowed by other officials, e.g., the chiefs who act as priests in the performances of the secret societies among the Tlingit, Haida, and Kwakiutl.

A similar distinction between shaman and priest has been made by Wissler. The priest is regarded as one who has knowledge of the rituals and leads ritualistic performances; his office is therefore primarily dependent upon learning, not upon direct personal experience with supernatural forces. The shaman, on the other hand, works by virtue of his possession of supernatural power. With this power he usually performs curative rites and acts as a prophet and seer.[14] This formulation likewise ignores the important points at which there is overlapping, for the appreciable body of knowledge gained by experience or apprenticeship is often an important part of the equipment distinguishing the shaman from his fellowmen.

One point is held in common by all these definitions: the shaman in all cases is one who has direct relationships with spirit powers in contrast to the priest who fills his office largely by virtue of his knowledge of rituals. Among some peoples, however, there is a certain overlapping of the functions belonging to the two offices. Some writers tend to regard as shamans all who experience personal contact with supernatural powers. A characteristic definition of this type is that given by Dixon, who applied the term "to that motley class of persons found in every savage community, who

[12] MacCulloch, in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XI, 441–442.
[13] Swanton, article "Shamans and Priests" in *Handbook of American Indians*, Vol. II, 522–524.
[14] Wissler, *The American Indian*, 197, 200–201.

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121 114 are supposed to have closer relations with the supernatural than other men, and who, according as they use the advantage of their position in one way or another, are the progenitors alike of the physician and the sorcerer, the prophet, the teacher, and the priest."[11]

The possession of power alone, however, does not necessarily distinguish the shaman from other men. In some tribes, almost everyone has visionary experiences in which some power to control supernatural forces is acquired. Under these conditions, the shaman may be regarded as one upon whom more than the usual amount of power is bestowed, and is so differentiated in native thought. Usually, the recipient of the power employs it for desirable social purposes, such as the curing of disease or the charming of game. Here shamanism is but a matter of degree; the shaman has the stronger power which enables him to perform certain functions in contrast to weaker powers of the laity. Moreover, the use of power for the good of others differentiates the shaman from the man who manipulates supernatural spirits for selfish ends. Of course this is an arbitrary distinction, for it is often difficult to distinguish between social and purely selfish interests.

For the purposes of this study, the shaman is one who acquires supernatural power through direct personal experience. This power is generally manipulated in such a way as to be a matter of concern to others in the society. Accordingly, the practice of witchcraft may be as important a part of shamanism as the curing of disease or the charming of game in a communal hunt. We will designate by the term shamanism, then, all the practices by which supernatural power may be acquired by mortals, the exercise of that power either for good or evil, and all the concepts and beliefs associated with these practices.

[11] Dixon, *Some Aspects of the American Shaman*, 1.

II. Paviotso Shamanism

Introduction

The material on Paviotso shamanism presented in this section was collected in the course of ethnographic field investigations carried on by the writer over a period of three summers.[1] Before the coming of the whites, the Paviotso roamed over the semi-arid country of western Nevada and Honey Lake Valley in California. In the winter and spring they lived on the shores of the lakes of this region—Pyramid, Humboldt, Carson and Walker Lakes of Nevada, and Honey Lake in California. Probably at no time did the population exceed three thousand. At the present time there are nearly a thousand full-blooded and half-breed Paviotso living on the Pyramid Lake, Walker River, and Fallon reservations and in the small colonies at the Nevada towns of Reno, Yerington, and Lovelock.

The Paviotso or Northern Paiute living largely in western Nevada, belong to the Mono-Paviotso branch of Shoshonean-speaking peoples. Although dialectically and geographically very close to the Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys, the Nevada bands form an ethnic unit quite distinct from their linguistic relatives in California.[2]

Under aboriginal conditions, the Paviotso were on friendly and intimate terms with the Northern Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys in California, to whose language their own is closely related. The Washo, living immediately to the west, were peaceful but not friendly. Contacts with these people were infrequent. Constant warfare was carried on with the Pit River Indians of California, who were their traditional enemies. The northeastern Maidu were also unfriendly and often came into conflict with the Paviotso. Other people in northeastern California and southern

[1] A preliminary account based on the first summer's field work was published in 1934 (see Park, *Paviotso Shamanism*). Material obtained on subsequent trips added considerable data, modified some, and corroborated other aspects of the earlier statement. The present account of Paviotso practices, although offered as a more accurate picture, is but a summary. It is hoped that it will be possible in the near future to publish the detailed material as a part of a rounded account of Paviotso culture. This chapter can thus be regarded essentially as a skeletonized version of Paviotso practice and belief.

[2] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 70–73; Steward, *Owens Valley Paiute*, 235–237.

PREFACE

This report on the ethnography of the Honey Lake Paiute has been little more than an objective recording of data as obtained from the informants. No correlations, comparisons or contrasts with data obtained by others has been attempted here. It is fully recognized that much more can be done with the data gathered but one's work must sometimes be arbitrarily terminated. The original concern of this endeavor was to chart the territory of this group of Paiute people as an aid to the archaeological investigations being carried out in their region. This was done, but, in doing so, an interest in other aspects of their society was whetted. As the investigator's interest grew so did that of the informants! If these investigations serve no other purpose than to give some measure of enjoyment and understanding of a past way of native life to those who may read, then I shall have been repaid for what effort I may have put into this work. Actually, I have been repaid many times over by the friendship and kindness that have been shown me by Kitty, Gladys, and the other Wadátkuht people I had the good fortune of meeting and visiting. I am ever-grateful to Kitty and Ike for allowing me to remove myself from the present and go back in time to a different world which is now gone forever. My glimpses into the past were fleeting and clouded by my own inadequacies, but none-the-less, very rewarding. My contact with the Honey Lake Paiute has given me much pleasure and I ask their indulgence in those areas of this work which lack the details necessary for providing a richer and more meaningful illumination of their history and former way of life.

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DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE TO WHITE CONTACT: PAIUTE AND WASHO[1]

by James F. Downs

N W 121 The purpose of this paper is to examine the marked difference in response to white contact displayed by two groups of American Indians, the Washo of western Nevada and eastern California and the Northern Paiute of western Nevada. The groups will be analyzed in a somewhat broader temporal framework than is common in acculturation studies, with historical and environmental factors as the primary considerations.

N W 121 182 It is fruitful to view social organization on the primitive level characteristic of the Washo and Northern Paiute as a technological adaptation, i. e., a method of obtaining subsistence. On a higher level, an advanced technology may be substituted for social organization in the subsistence struggle, and social structure might then be analyzed as an adjustment to the technology. This appears to be what has happened in Nevada. Indian social structure seems closely tied to the actual ecological relationships of man to environment; the white population, on the other hand, exhibits social structural elements that are related not to the immediate environment but to the technologic and economic system the white man has brought to the area.

N W 121 One of the reasons for the above suggestion is that in an examination of the Washo and Paiute situations the social structures of the two groups do not appear to be significantly different. Certainly the difference between Washo society and Paiute society was no greater than the differences among various Paiute groups (Steward, 1938, 230-60; Stewart, 1941, 406-7). If we can consider the social structural variations as constant, it may be possible to find significant differences between the two groups in an examination of their history and ecology.

N W 121 177 The major thesis guiding the present discussion is that the differences in response of Washo and Paiute to contact are a result of their occupation of what had been two distinct ecological areas. These two groups developed different relationships with surrounding peoples and different orientations toward subsistence activity, which were observable when the white man's entry into Nevada altered the environmental situation.